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The Interlocked Dies of *CONNECTICUT COPPERS* by

EDWARD R. BARNSLEY

During the past decade, following publication in March, 1964 of Miller's Connecticut Listings Updated, (CNL, p.17), a lot of numismatic research has been developed about the 404 dies comprising this most fascinating series of State coinages.

In January, 1972 we published (CNL, p.337) a recapitulation of all changes in die nomenclature since 1920. This article, titled Corrigenda Millerensis, added 33 dies and deleted 14; and added 52 combinations and deleted 18. But no attempt was made at that time to correct the then outdated interlock charts which had supplemented the aforementioned 1964 publication.

The accompanying chart is now presented to reflect comprehensively all the said Corrigenda revisions, as well as to incorporate at the same time Henry C. Miller's duplicated numbering of the same obverses which are paired with reverses of consecutive year dates. Eleven such dual obverses having two sets of attribution numbers were discussed and illustrated in the April, 1968 issue of CNL, page 8, in an article titled Biennial Pairings of Connecticut Obverses.

Our chart diagrams, therefore, in graphic form the 346 combinations of every Connecticut reverse with every AUCTORI CONNEC die as well as with five other obverses from two other Series.

About 78% of all Connecticut dies are polygamous; that is, they are multiply paired together to form 228 different biennial interlocked combinations and 86 annually interlocked combinations. Both of these categories are shown in the body

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of the chart as 23 separately numbered Groups, of which the largest, No. 13, contains the amazing total of 156 different dies interlocked between the 1787 and 1788 Series. Indicated at the bottom of the Chart are those 90 monogamous dies which have a single pairing of one obverse with only one reverse.

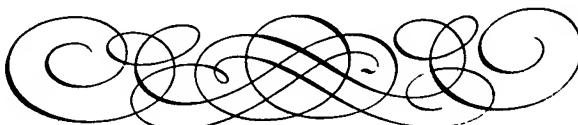
We hope that this pictorial representation of the numerous die combinations of Connecticut Coppers will prove useful to the collector as an aid in attributing unknown pieces. When the details of one die are difficult to identify, attribution of the other die paired with it is often easily ascertained. The chart should also be helpful to the numismatist who desires to research the striking sequence of familial varieties, or trace, for example, the die sinking technique of some particular craftsman. The chart appears on page 451 in this issue.

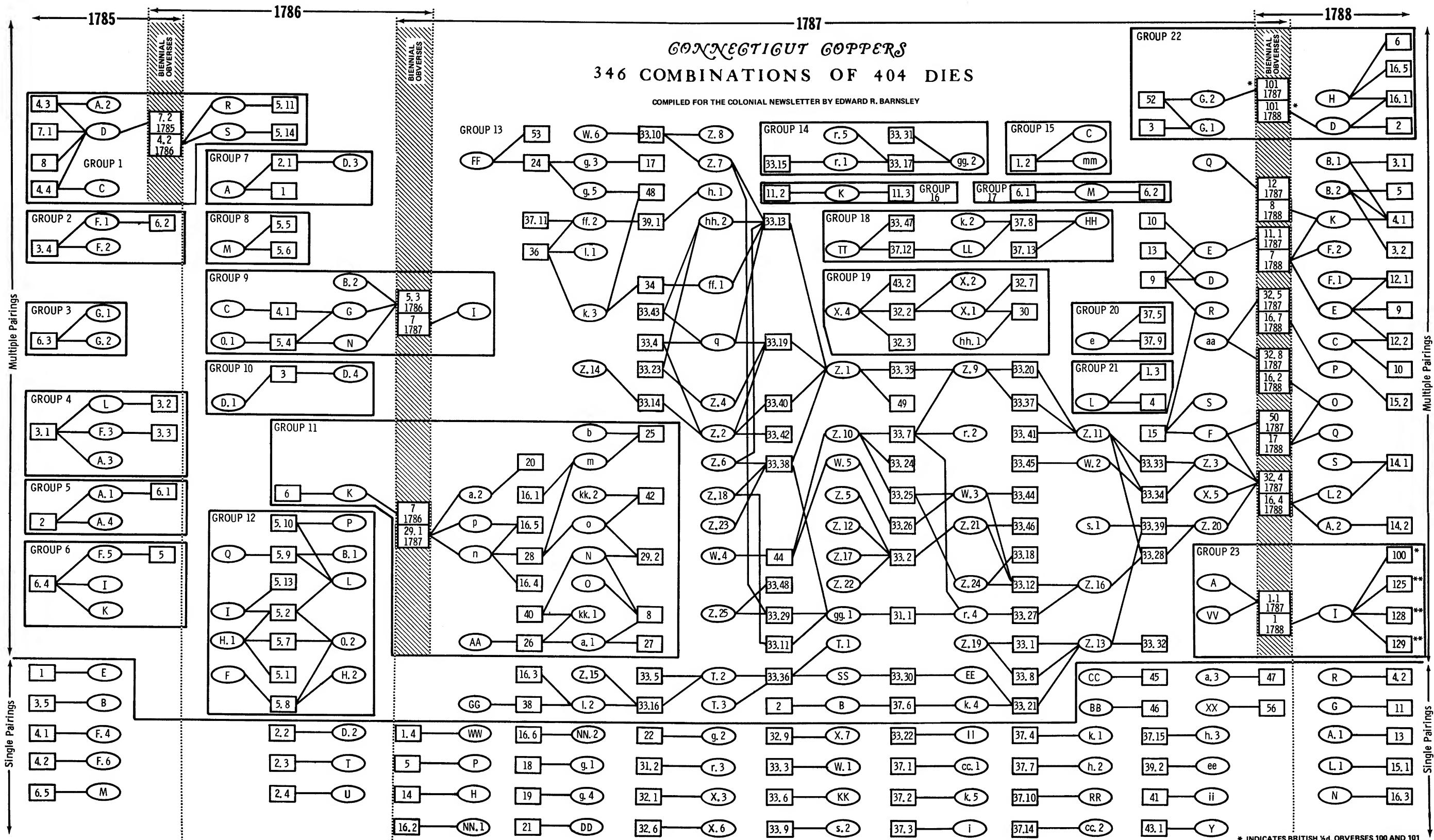


Editor's Note:

When Ned Barnsley submitted his revised chart of 346 combinations of 404 dies he appended a note to ye Editor asking for suggestions for some other areas where the chart might be useful in addition to those tabulated in the last paragraph, above. This led to a lengthy correspondence regarding various charting techniques, grouping of dies, and related topics, the net result being the evolution of an entirely different configuration of the present chart the use of which has led to several startling discoveries and promises many more. We anticipate publishing the expanded version of Ned's chart very soon.

JCS





LETTERS and TECHNICAL NOTES

BUSHNELL'S NUMISMATIC NOTES IN MANUSCRIPT

(RF-47A)

● ● from Charles E. Funk, Jr.

Regarding RF-47 (CNL, April 1973, p.399) -- I cannot answer this one but I do have a couple of suggestions to offer, either of which might possibly lead to the answer. Let me start by quoting the paragraph in the Bushnell Family Genealogy that relates to our subject:

"(Bushnell), Charles Ira, b. New York, N.Y. 28 July 1821, d. there 17 Sept. 1883, m. abt. 1851, Abby J. Little (FR), who d. Oct. 1903, adopted dau. of Dr. Moses Little of Brooklyn, N.Y. He was a Lawyer and author and wrote several books on the lives of Revolutionary Soldiers, and had a valuable historical library, also a large collection of American coins and was a life member of the New York Historical Society. Children, 2: " etc.

I won't go into detail about his children. Suffice it to say that his son, Giles, though married, died childless. His daughter, Anne, died in her late teens, unmarried. There is no indication that either inherited any of the father's interest in numismatics.

The chief point that I want to make here is to suggest that someone look into the library of the New York Historical Society. Since the manuscript is not in ANS, this would seem to be a likely alternative repository for it.

But further, Bushnell's coins were sold at auction, by the Chapman brothers, soon after his death. I have been able to examine the catalog of the sale, and can report (in case this is not known to the inquirer) that the sale included 3000 lots, of which 2847 lots were of coins and related artifacts, 152 lots were of books and catalogs that made up his numismatic library, and the one remaining lot was his coin cabinet. None of the 152 lots of library material included his manuscript.

Still further, Bushnell's historical library was also sold at auction, by the Messrs. Bangs & Co. I have not seen the catalog of this auction, but I have seen the entry for the catalog in the National Union Catalog, and can report that its title is: Catalogue of the library, etc., of the late Charles Ira Bushnell, to be sold at auction Monday April 2d and four following days, by Messrs. Bangs & Co. It contains 286 pages, and there were 3,452 lots in the sale. Copies of this catalog are reportedly held in: Library of Congress, Philadelphia Union Library, Duke University Library, Cornell University Library, American Philosophical Society Library (Phila.), University of Michigan Library and the University of Virginia Library. Possibly a reader nearby one of these sources can check the catalog to see whether or not the missing manuscript was among the items in this sale. Then the problem will resolve itself into locating the buyer!

CONSTELLATIO NOVA.

(TN-46)

● ● from Walter H. Breen; Berkeley, California

It is good to see those newspaper clippings quoted by Eric Newman. (CNL, October 1973, p.422) They not only give credibility to theories earlier quoted and requoted without additional direct evidence; they also confirm something I have long suspected. This is that the so-called NOVA CONSTELLATIO coppers should in fact be read CONSTELLATIO NOVA. The lines of evidence are rather odd but to me conclusive, and Eric has provided the most direct one of all:

- (1) CONSTELLATIO NOVA is better Latin. The transposed version doubtless derives from early coin dealers who, like Jonson's Shakespeare, possessed "small Latin and less Greek."
- (2) When I finally obtained access to specimens anywhere near uncirculated, I found that the eye has an unequivocal eyebrow, and that it is upright as it should be only if CONSTELLATIO is above, making the legend begin at left -- about 9:00 -- whereas if NOVA were in fact the intended beginning, it would have to be about 4:00 or 4:30, which is hardly rational. See Guidebook, p.36, top illustration.
- (3) Die alignments on all specimens of every variety I have examined, except for the Twelve Star counterfeit which I know only from photographs of Eric's coin, in fact indicate that the coiners intended CONSTELLATIO as the beginning.
- (4) Some of these same dies were used by Wyon in 1785 & 1786 on patterns reading IMMUNE or IMMUNIS COLUMBIA . Now IMMUNE is a preposterous solecism, and this die was given by Wyon to his pupil Walter Mould, who brought it over to New Jersey, though for some reason he did not use it as part of his Morristown Mint operations. However, from him -- or his assigns , when he fled the state during August 1788 to evade debtor's prison -- it did pass to Machin's Mills, where it was muled with a Vermont and a CEORCIVS III REX obverse (both Atlee rejects), being struck on small clumpy planchets evidently from the same lot that yielded Vermont Ryder 30 and New Jersey Maris 69-w. IMMUNE COLUMBIA would have been grounds for a beating in any British grade school. What is called for is an adjective, nominative, feminine, agreeing with COLUMBIA, hence the correct version IMMUNIS COLUMBIA found on 1786 dies. IMMUNE is construable either as an adverb or as a neuter noun but in neither instance is it correct in that combination.

(5) In line with the preceding:

IMMUNIS COLUMBIA CONSTELLATIO NOVA is scannable as a hexameter
verse --

(Im-mū-/ n̄is Cō-/ lūm-bi-ā // cōn-stēl-/ lā-ti-ō / nō-va.)

It is not very good verse, but it does scan that way, which it would not either if IMMUNE were used, or if the wording were NOVA CONSTELLATIO. It is slightly defective in that the final A should be long rather than short, but this license is fairly often found in the classical period. Now both Thomas Jefferson and Gouverneur Morris were educated men, at a time when educated people prided themselves on being able to construct Latin verse, even as British public school graduates do to the present day; and a hexameter in those days, read rhymically (prolong the — syllables, shorten the u ones, let the stresses fall where they may, and chant the whole thing), was the equivalent of a slogan, something like WE SHALL OVERCOME! or IMPEACH WITH HONOR!, likely to be on everyone's lips with its more-than-subliminal message. After all, epics were written in that kind of verse precisely because it was easy to remember and to declaim, at a time when writing was rare, writing materials equally so. And so we can safely assume that this was in a way easy to remember and hard to forget, that

"The heavens now proclaim America free."

A vehicle for propaganda for a newborn nation, barely escaped from tyranny.

Which brings up the question of the correct reading for the pattern Decads of 1785, also by Wyon, to devices and legends suggested by Thomas Jefferson. These are the copper pieces reading INIMICA TYRANNIS AMERICA (or AMERICANA), with the Goddess Diana, arrow in right hand, bow in left, quiver of arrows slung over her shoulder, trampling on a crown, beside her an alter on which is a cap of liberty equally interpretable as a helmet. Reverse CONFEDERATIO and 13 stars within a glory of rays.

Jefferson's Propositions Respecting the Coinage of Gold, Silver and Copper, dated May 13, 1785 (while he was in Paris), recommends the device of an Indian trampling on a crown, with MANUS INIMICA TYRANNIS. (Papers of Thomas Jefferson, VII, 202.) A deleted paragraph of the report of the Grand Committee (JCC, XXVIII, 354-8; Papers of Continental Congress, No. 26, pp. 537-42, in National Archives) suggested the name "Decad" for the largest copper coin, and for the device the union of 13 stars in circle with a serrated border representing rays, and CONFEDERATIO 1785 (JCC, XXVIII, 358). The paragraph was deleted from the printed report, apparently by Hugh Williamson (acting chairman) or by vote of the committee. But Jefferson knew of the committee's inner workings, and he would surely have known of the proposed designs (if indeed he was not their instigator), as well as of Wyon's facilities; he is therefore the most logical go-between for transmitting them to Wyon, even for patterns for a possible contract coinage.

Only one version of the alternative legends produces a hexameter verse:

Con-fe-de-/ ra-ti-o // A-me-ri- / ca in-i- / mi-ca ty-/ ran-nis!

Despite the false quality (the long syllable ending America).

We may therefore conclude that this was the original intent, having CONFEDERATIO as the obverse, with the large stars (as in the sketch preserved in JCC), and AMERICA rather than AMERICANA. It may be rudely englished as follows:

"United America, Tyranny's Foe!"

Why then the other reading with AMERICANA, which destroys the scansion? Probably because Wyon thought it worth while giving alternative versions to whoever might be in a position to order contract coinage on behalf of the colonies, even as Obadiah Westwood was to do a few years later via Thomas Ketland & Son with the Large and Small Eagle Cents.



* * * *

ERRATA * * *

Please make the following corrections & additions to earlier issues ---

October 1973 (Serial No.38) issue of CNL

Page 414, first paragraph below Goodrich letter, second line,
change "page 233" to read page 223

Page 415, hand written script Ten thousand, which unfortunately our
printer "cleaned up" and thereby eliminated the detail that we
wanted to show. It should have appeared as:

Ten thousand

Page 416, after name Walter Breen, add identifier	(RF-43A)
after name Charles E. Funk, Jr. add identifier	(RF-43B)
Page 417, after name Walter Breen, add identifier	(RF-44A)
Page 418, after name Charles E. Funk, Jr. add identifier	(RF-44B)
Page 419, after Raymond E. Williamson, add identifier	(RF-45A)
Page 421, after Walter H. Breen, add identifier	(RF-46A)
Page 422, after Eric P. Newman, add identifier	(RF-52A)

Ye Editor sincerely appreciates our Patrons directing his attention to errors so that he can, at least, make corrections in the manner of the above.

JCS

CONNECTICUT COPPERS vs CONNECTICUT CENTS.

(RF-43C)

● ● from Edward R. Barnsley

In reply to RF-43 (CNL, April 1973, p.398) I submit the following:

It has been well established in numismatic literature that Coppers is the correct name to apply to those coins bearing the AUCTORI CONNEC legend. But recently Charles E. Funk, Jr., raised an interesting question: "When and Why did the Connecticut coppers begin to be miscalled 'Cents' ?" (CNL, p.416).

Collectors have noticed, for example, that the editors who prepared for publication H.C. Miller's monumental treatise, "The State Coinage of Connecticut", titled his halftone plates, CONNECTICUT CENTS, and they prefaced their supplement to his posthumous work by saying, "several new varieties of Connecticut cents have been discovered". But this was only done in 1920, which was many, many years after Connecticut coppers first began to be miscalled Connecticut cents.

Mid-19th Century auction catalogues abound with the misuse of this word as applied to the Connecticut Series. In fact, one of our earliest numismatic writers, William Cowper Prime (1825-1905) used the two words interchangeably. In March, 1860 he stated in his article, "Coin in America":

"The number and variety of Connecticut cents or coppers, from 1785 to 1788, is absolutely beyond computation. Every day a new one is discovered. The variation is not always important, but quite sufficient to indicate the use of a separate and distinct die for each coin. Thus the dots, stars, or lines of the legend are different, the head faces to the right or to the left, or some equally distinct mark is found." (Quoted from "Harper's New Monthly Magazine". Vol.XX, No. 118, p.472.)

I believe, therefore, it can be stated with some certainty that for about 70 years after production stopped, Connecticut's copper coins coined by The Company for Coining Coppers were usually termed just that, i.e., coppers. However, because of the similiar size of these pieces unmarked as to value, when compared to other copper coins conspicuously stamped with the word cent (such as the Massachusetts Cents minted in 1787 and the Federal Cents minted in 1793), the shorter name soon became attached to them by the public in general and collectors in particular. And unfortunately, this common name is still used incorrectly today by numismatists who should know better. Some modern authors have even called these coins "Connecticut Pennies". This was done, for example, by the erudite scholar, Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth in his 1958 biography, "Abel Buell of Connecticut", pages 23 & 83.

As far as I am concerned, the two names are a distinction without difference. In common parlance, a Connecticut Copper is a Connecticut Cent, and a Connecticut Cent is a Connecticut Copper. It's just that simple!

MORE ON CONNECTICUT COPERS vs CONNECTICUT CENTS

(RF-43D)

● ● from Robert J. Lindesmith

I was rather interested in Charles E. Funk, Jr.'s comment regarding Connecticut coppers being miscalled cents. While I am interested in the history of the term coppers and how it was used during this period, I really can see no great harm in calling them Connecticut Cents. The fact that they preceded our large cents and were found in circulation up to the advent of the small sized cent, would lead me to believe that they were called cents over a rather long period in relation to the years of issue. Possibly just as in the case of Hard Times Tokens ... they were called "Wildcat Cents" ... in the 1850's. This represents the main reason I would find it hard to take issue with John W. Haseltine (born in 1838) for listing the Sylvester S. Crosby 1785 to 1788 Connecticut varieties under the heading "CENTS.", in his June 27-29, 1883 sale.

While I am not certain on this point, I believe the Philadelphia Mint treated the Connecticut coppers the same as the regular U.S. cent issues at the time they retired the large cents from circulation. This is not meant to indicate that I think Mr. Funk is wrong, but to illustrate why it is rather easy to think of them as cents rather than coppers.

And, with Walter H. Breen's comments in respect to this subject in mind, I might mention that I like the thinking behind the following Thomas L. Elder statement:

"The ferry fees were listed under the rather uncertain term of 'coppers.'" In other words, just what was considered "coppers" in the case of this particular ferry service? The above quotation is found in "The Collector's Notes", back pages of the Thomas L. Elder, Sept. 28 & 29, 1928 auction catalog:

» NOVA EBORACS FOR FERRY FARE IN 1787 » »

The Albany, N.Y., "Gazette," for Thursday, June 21st, 1787, includes not only advertisements offering slaves for sale, certain cures for consumption, "Curious flowers, bulbous roots and seeds," and a plentiful supply of "West India Rum," but gives some curious extracts from a "city ordinance," for regulating the ferry across the Hudson river, which reveal that labor troubles, unwilling ferry-men and some passengers loath to pay their fare, had to be reckoned with. The ferry fees were listed under the rather uncertain term of "coppers." These "coppers" were likely the then recently issued "Nova Eborac," or New York State cents, dated 1787, bearing the bust of Liberty or the goddess New York. The objects listed for fare give us an insight into the things most commonly transported in that distant day, and suggest not automobiles or flying machines, or radios, but rather a primitive life and proximity to a howling wilderness filled with savage animals, Indians and trappers. "Every stipple of flour, wheat or other grain cost "one copper" to ferry across the river. Each

person passing over "except a sucking child" paid "two coppers." The same rate also applied to a variety of things such as a live calf or hog, a dead sheep or lamb, a firkin or tub of butter, an empty chest or trunk, a saddle without a horse, "a dozen pairs of shoes or boots," and so on. A barrel of sugar, molasses or rum cost "four coppers," while a hundred weight of lead, pewter or other metal, went over for the same rate. "Six coppers" had to be paid "for a dozen steel traps." Judging from the number of barrels of pelts shipped annually from Albany the fur business was largely engaged in and profitable. "All other articles, and things not enumerated" (which one could imagine to have been considerable) were "to be charged for in the same proportion to the rates above specified."

Any person refusing to pay the fees designated had "to forfeit and pay the ferry-man treble the rates above mentioned." This rule doesn't appear so one-sided as we read "if the ferry-man shall exact or take any greater price for ferriage (except in the morning before sun-rise or in the evening after sun-set, in which case they are entitled to double ferriage) they shall forfeit and pay for every offense twenty shillings." The ferry-man was obliged "according to the statute" to keep at least two ferry-boats and a scow; two whereof to be constantly employed by four able hands," certain evidence that late eighteenth century ferry traffic was considerable. In case the ferry-man "neglected his calling or disobeyed the rules" the corporation was authorized to remove him and "dispose of the ferry to some other person." His job was no bed of roses, for in addition he was required "constantly from sunrise to sunset to attend and come and go with the ferry-boats, wind and weather permitting, or shall forfeit and pay twenty shillings for every neglect or refusal." His hours of work, which must have numbered at least twelve, do not bear a close resemblance to the present union standards. All of these forfeitures and penalties were advertised to be "recovered from the Mayor, Recorder or any one of the Aldermen of the City."



LAMINATED OR PLATED FLANS
● ● from Merle E.Bixler; Celina, Ohio

(TN-47)

I have an HIBERNIA 1/4d (1723) that is either heavily plated or made from a laminated flan. A correspondent has several Pitt tokens and a Nova Constellatio of 1783 so coated. The coating is of an alloy of tin and lead, either terne or some other similiar alloy. Is there any evidence that any of these coins were ever manufactured so?

SIX CONNECTICUT MINTS?

(TN-48)

● ● from Walter H. Breen

I lately gave a lecture SIX MINTS FOR CONNECTICUT? at the EAC meeting, which has effectively solved a lot of the remaining problems in this series. There are possibly half a dozen varieties which may conceivably represent private enterprise unrelated to the major mints, depending on punch-link evidence or lack of it, and most of these are not available for inspection.

The six mints:

- » NEW HAVEN I. (Hopkins, Bishop, Goodrich & Hillhouse.)
Dies by Abel Buel. Officially operated Oct. 20, 1785 - June 1, 1787, only.
Comprises most 1785 Mailed Bust Right, all 1785-1786 Mailed Bust Left,
1786 Draped Bust Left, and early 1787 Draped Bust Left -- those
NOT using cinquefoils or fleurons.
- » RAHWAY, N.J. (Matthias Ogden, Albion Cox, Thomas Goadsby.)
Dies by James F. Atlee. November 1786 - June 1787.
Mailed Bust Right coins of 1786 plus 1787 varieties 3-G & 52-G.
- » MORRISTOWN, N.J. (Walter Mould with unnamed apprentices.)
June 1787 - August 1788. 1787 varieties 6.1 & 6.2-m; 4-L; 1.3-L.
- » NEW HAVEN II. (James Jarvis & associates.) Original hubs by Abel Buel,
dies by a variety of apprentices. Operated after June 1, 1787 to fall 1788.
These are the 1787 - 1788 Draped Bust Left coins with cinquefoils or
fleurons, punch-linked with the Fugios.
- » UNKNOWN, possibly New Haven. (Benjamin Buel.) Early 1789.
Triple Leaves Mailed Bust Left dated 1787 and 1788, generally with
Ms. Liberty holding a wheat ear: these hubs by Abel Buel, who deeded
his entitlement to coin for Connecticut unto his son Benjamin just before
leaving for Europe.
- » MACHIN'S MILL. (Thomas Machin & Co., Newburg, N.Y.) Dies by Atlee plus a
few old dies bought from Morristown & New Haven II.
Late 1787 - early 1790.

